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Liberty

NOT THE DAUGHTER BUT THE MOTHER OF ORDER — PROUDHON

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"For always in thine eyes, O Liberty!
Shines that high light whereby the world is saved;
And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee."
JOHN HAY.

On Picket Duty.

The recent statement by the emperor of Germany that many Americans would be willing to pay any sum to live and travel in the same cabin occupied by him in a recent steamship voyage has caused many throats to swell and breasts to heave in this country. Everybody knows, however, that the kaiser's words very closely approximate the facts, which doubtless accounts for the indignation. If the imputation of snobbery were false, nobody would do aught but laugh at the kaiser's vanity.

In recent years it has been dreamed that in this country all newspapers printed in a foreign language are immune from censorship, either postal or other; but now the labor troubles in the mining districts in Colorado have resulted in the seizure of the office of "Il Trovatore Italiano." This was done by a squad of soldiers acting under orders, and they confiscated a whole issue of the paper, which was just ready for distribution. "The paper has been encouraging the laborers," laconically adds the press dispatch. Serious offence, that,—in Russia and the United States!

The God-in-the-constitution party seems to have scored one in securing the recognition of God in the recently-adopted constitution of the Republic of Panama. This ought to be a still greater source of satisfaction to them in view of the fact that the United States tacitly stands sponsor to the birth of this new republic, and thus, even if only to a slight extent, God is nearer to our own political door. After all, however, the existence or non-existence of the word "God" in the constitution is about as essential to the people of this country as is the flying or non-flying of the American flag over the public schools,—neither question is worth the scratch of a post-office pen.

The New York City board of health has a regulation which prohibits "any soiled or dirty articles of clothing or bedding, in baskets or bundles," from being conveyed or carried in any of the street or elevated railway cars of the city. The "baskets or bundles" clause is a saving one, for everybody knows that, if this provision of the board of health is intended to prevent the spread of disease, the board might find much more danger in the "soiled or dirty clothing" that is carried not "in baskets or bundles," but upon the bodies of the patrons of the transportation lines. And it may even appal the board of health to contemplate what it would involve to enforce its regulation against *all* soiled or dirty clothing carried in the cars.

The New York "Times" and some of its correspondents have run afoul of a serious problem in ethics, arising from the action of a little girl who saved the lives of some panic-stricken women by lying to them about a fire which was raging in a building. None of them is able to decide whether the girl's action was "right," but the "Times" concludes that the end was "good," whatever may be said of the means, although it half believes that these latter, "all things considered, are not bad." What would have been the conclusion if the girl's efforts to save the women's lives had been unsuccessful is awful to contemplate. It's too bad that these good people are in such a predicament over a question that answers itself when it is rationally put: Did the girl injure the panic-stricken women by lying to them and thus saving their lives?

Max Beerbohm, writing in the London "Saturday Review" of a new play (Maugham's "A Man of Honor"), says: "The play was very well received—with many hearty laughs in the wrong places. There, you perceive, is the best chance of success of a modern tragedy. The public is so very unsuspicious." How true of all ordinary Anglo-Saxon audiences! And perhaps of other audiences, too. Any person who knows, for instance, a play like Shaw's "Candida," and who goes to see it because he knows and understands it, finds his nerves racked many times during the evening by inopportune laughter—laughter which shows that the playwright's pathos has fallen where there is not sufficient intellect to recognize subtle and delicate art when it is seen. Then, too, during the same evening, one may experience a feeling of poignant disappointment at the stolid indifference with which Shaw's delicious Irish satire is received. But it must be remembered that the average person has still a long way to go and much to experience before he will have attained to that perception of things real by which he will learn that the superstitions of the past, and of which he is still essentially a part, are of to-day the things unreal.

Speaking of the obvious desire of congress to adjourn without discussing the labor bills before that body, the New York "Evening Post" remarks: "Putting off work that has to be done merely doubles it. Questions that you refuse to settle when you can, have an ugly way of settling *you* later on." So, then, while the "Post" urges congress to have courage and defeat these measures, it admits that these labor problems are not so easily settled. While the anti-injunction bill, which is one of those referred to, is simply a resort to the time-honored method of invoking legislation to cure the evils of legislation, and, being the work of politicians, has not the virtue of being a frank and direct abolishment of that tyrannical power which courts possess, it is nevertheless the voicing of a sentiment that is growing in this country—a sentiment that will eventually, let us hope, grow strong enough to make itself felt by even the politicians. It would not be killed, as the "Evening Post" seems to imagine, by the mere defeat of the anti-injunction bill at this session of congress; the evil must be uprooted, and the roots lie so deep that they can be reached only by repeal. Those who know what freedom means will not encourage any attempt that does not promise to strip the judiciary of the power to imprison a man unheard and untried by a jury.

Since Teddy Gripped My Hand.

The Rev. Dr. Cortland Myers of the Baptist Temple delivered an address on "Destiny" before a large audience of men in the Orpheum Theatre in Brooklyn under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association. The Rev. Mr. Myers said that President Roosevelt was a man of splendid character who had lived "under the sceptre of duty."

"This last week," he said, "when I was in his private office with him and had the honor—the supreme honor—of shaking his hand—I do not think I have washed that hand with soap since. [Applause.] I do not think I will ever wash the memory off that hand.

"I would like to take that splendid grip with me out of this world into the next and have it as part of my resurrection life, for the man who shakes hands with Theodore Roosevelt has shaken hands with a man, and more: he has shaken hands with a representative Christian man."

This world looks awful good to me,
Since Teddy gripped my hand;
I'm just as happy as can be,
Since Teddy gripped my hand;
No soap I'll ever use again;
I'll keep that hand from touch of men;
I wouldn't even reach for "ten,"
Since Teddy gripped my hand!

I'll care no more what troubles come,
For Teddy gripped my hand;
I want to shout—I can't be "mum,"
Since Teddy gripped my hand;
I'm going to preach upon the text
That all who ever get perplexed
Will find that joy has been annexed
When Teddy grips the hand.

I thank the Lord I saw the day
When Teddy gripped my hand;
'Twill give me joy along life's way
That Teddy gripped my hand;
And when I don my heaven's crown,
And on the damned in hell look down,
I'll tell the saints my great renown,—
That Teddy gripped my hand!

Onlooker.

Liberty.

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"In abolishing rent and interest, the last vestiges of old-time slavery, the Revolution abolishes at one stroke the sword of the executioner, the seal of the magistrate, the club of the policeman, the gauge of the exciseman, the erasing-knife of the department clerk, all those insignia of Politics, which young Liberty grinds beneath her heel."—PROUDHON.

☞ The appearance in the editorial column of articles over other signatures than the editor's initial indicates that the editor approves their central purpose and general tenor, though he does not hold himself responsible for every phrase or word. But the appearance in other parts of the paper of articles by the same or other writers by no means indicates that he disapproves them in any respect, such disposition of them being governed largely by motives of convenience.

Louis F. Post on Democracy.

The editor of "The Public," Louis F. Post, has published an interesting and timely collection of articles and editorials under the general title, "Ethics of Democracy." Mr. Post himself describes the book as "a series of optimistic essays on the natural laws of human society." The political charlatans have made the word optimism, like the word patriotism, highly objectionable and offensive; but Mr. Post wishes to redeem it and to protest against the nauseating cant of the shallow upholders of things as they are, who dub every serious critic, every opponent of injustice and wrong, "pessimist." He has no difficulty in showing that the uncompromising radicals, the bitter enemies of monopoly and tyranny and plutocracy, the unterrified idealists, are the true optimists.

To me, I confess, the defence of optimism, or rather of the alleged "pessimism" of the reformers, seems needless and unprofitable. It matters not whether an essay on the natural laws of society is optimistic or pessimistic; indeed, the terms have no scientific signification. Is the essay sound, logical, well-grounded? If it is, it has value and merit. If it is not, its spirit or tone or mood is of no consequence. Mr. Post should have described his volume as a series of scientific essays.

Are they scientific? Much in them certainly is, not only in the politico-social, but also in the economic section, perhaps I should say especially in the economic section. Readers of Liberty will agree with nearly everything said on such topics as foreign trade, competition, trusts, Socialism, etc. They will take exception to everything which involves recognition of the economic or political postulates of the Single Tax philosophy.

Here, however, my object is not to review the secondary positions or propositions of the book, but to challenge the underlying conception of democracy briefly expressed by Mr. Post in his introduction. He deals with the ethics and politics of democracy, and the first question naturally is: What does he mean by democracy?

The word, Mr. Post writes, preserves, in sane political discussion, the full etymological sense of government by all the people governed. But even government by all may be undemocratic; as, for example, when *all* discriminate against *some* and violate their equal natural rights. The word democracy "has connotations that break the confines of its etymology." It involves not only the idea of government by all the people governed, "but likewise the idea of government in recognition of and harmony with the principle of equal natural rights in all other respects" than the mere possession by each of an equal voice in the common counsels.

At any rate, this is our original idea of democracy. "Not merely does government derive its just powers from the consent of the governed, as that American Magna Charta [the Declaration of Independence] asserts, but, as it also asserts, government can derive no powers that are unjust, even from the governed themselves. For governments, says this venerated document, are instituted for the sole purpose of securing natural rights."

Democracy, as defined by Mr. Post, then, is government by all for the benefit of all, this benefit consisting solely in the safeguarding and securing to all of their equal natural rights. It is an "optimistic" definition, but is it scientific?

In the first place, "government by all" is merely a phrase, "a *façon de parler*." Democracy really means government by the majority, and "pure democracy" means government by the majority under universal suffrage and without restriction, checks, or balances. A voice in the common counsels means that the minority is afforded the opportunity to *talk;* it is the majority that has the power to act and impose its will upon the country. Those who voted in 1900 against imperialism had a voice; but what policy is in force today? What became of the non-consent of the anti-imperialists? True, they had accepted the arbitrament of the ballot-box; but what would have happened if they had abstained and protested by staying at home? Consent of *all* the governed is not democracy, but Anarchy.

So much for the first half of the definition. Now as to the end and powers of democratic government. Who is to decide where justice ceases and injustice begins? Who is to decide where the majority, instead of enforcing equal natural rights, invasively enters the sphere of the individual? Why, the same majority. Democratic government means that the majority first decides what is just and righteous, and then proceeds to enforce it "for the benefit of all." It is a remarkable discovery, a wonderful induction from historic facts, that majorities are endowed by nature with the faculty of ascertaining truth and natural law!

Democracy may be inevitable. It is here. It has displaced autocratic and oligarchical rule—thanks to gunpowder, the printing press, and the capitalistic system of industry. But it is a guaranty neither of greater freedom nor of greater security. It is not necessarily better than minority rule. Neither is a deduction from the principle of equal natural rights.

There is no objection to majority rule by the consent of *all* the governed. But we must set out with unanimity, with actual individual consent, and the powers of the majority must be defined and subject to the right of secession under conditions unanimously agreed upon. This political system would be Anarchy, not democracy.

Mr. Post closes his collection of optimistic essays with some doubly and specially optimistic reflections on the great order of things, the assured triumph of the higher law, and the ultimate defeat of the sordid and narrow utilitarians. "They [the political infidels] are doomed to defeat by those who, few in number though they be, attach themselves to the causes that harmonize with the great order of things." Unfortunately the great order of things does all its fighting through the very small creatures who inhabit this earth. The few cannot defeat the many unless they first convert the enemy. So long as the few *are* few, harmony with the great order avails them little. When the many are with them, they have numbers as well as the great order. What Mr. Post's optimistic conclusions really amount to is this—that the many, now in the wrong, will be defeated by themselves when they shall have joined the few who have outstripped them on the path to harmony with the great order. This does not sound optimistic, but it is accurate and scientific.

S. R.

Jean Grave on Methods.

I have been reading "Les Temps Nouveaux" for the third week of January, and am interested in what Jean Grave says therein about methods of Anarchist work.

On the front page he has this:

> In the case of groups [organized for revolutionary purposes] this happens: if those who lead them are sincere, if they are really working to realize the ostensible aim, there is finally created in this medium a special atmosphere which makes you take desires for realities. Little by little, sentiments get fanatical, brains get heated, people feel capable of pulverizing everything, and they rush into headstrong actions at the end of which there is nothing but catastrophes and deceptions. If, as too often comes to pass, the leaders take fright at their share of the responsibilities which would fall upon them, the exertions will go to cooling off enthusiasm, to tiring out willingness, to tacking.
>
> To help in the evolution of brains is, according to some of us, the surest means of working for revolution. We have tried to do our best at this.

The thoughts expressed here are certainly not the same as those in Tucker's answer to Dyer D. Lum on pages 418-420 of "Instead of a Book." Yet there is a notable coincidence both in outward aspect and in practical effect. The settled distrust of attempts to manufacture the revolution to order, or to strike an immediate crushing blow against the State, is the same; so is the exclusive confidence in educational methods. It seems fair to say that the editor of the foremost Anarchist-Communist paper and the editor of the foremost Anarchist paper are in practical agreement on the question of what work Anarchists need to do at the present time.

Passing from the first page to the last (in the supplement), I find a review of a book by one Courtois, a book of recollections of convict life in French Guiana; and here M. Grave notes the following point:

Courtois tells how he made the acquaintance of Duval there, and he takes this occasion to recall the polemics that Duval's act aroused in the revolutionary press.

Setting aside Duval's personality (for he was a sincere man; his attitude in the convict settlement proves it), it must be acknowledged that his "example" has contributed to demoralize the understandings of many.

Theoretically he was defensible. To take money back from the *bourgeois* for the purpose of making war on them — it seemed that there could be nothing more logical; and we Anarchists all marched as one man to defend Duval and his experiment in expropriation. But after I had the chance to see what the theory became in practice, I changed my mind decidedly. This only makes me lament all the more that a man of Duval's energy and sincerity should have his life annihilated by having blundered into this blind alley.

I wish there was some way of keeping these words standing in the Anarchist-Communist press till they had taught a good many people to judge of murder in the same way as Jean Grave here judges of stealing. At any rate, I am glad to note this conspicuous acknowledgment, by a man who admits that he was formerly on the other side, that, though a crime be committed in a good cause and be defensible on grounds of abstract justice,* it is none the less a crime if the thing actually done is abominable; and that it is a mistake to let the intention of universal human sympathy, or the desire to stand by a comrade who shares our social aspirations, lead us to pick out the bright side of a crime and spend our breath in calling attention to this bright side as if it were the one we mainly saw. STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

The Limits of Free Speech.

The New York "Times," commenting upon a speech made in New York by John Turner since his release from Ellis Island, drops a few remarks which, if not ambiguous, at least call for a little elucidation from their writer, unless we are to accept the only obvious conclusion,—that the time is rapidly approaching when free speech will no longer be taken for granted in this country. To quote:

> While it was probably a tactical error to give Mr. John Turner an excuse for posing as a free-speech martyr before those with very vague and inaccurate ideas as to what is meant by "free speech" in civilized countries, there was nothing in the remarks he made . . . to indicate that anything more becomes Mr. Turner than does a gently assisted silence. There was nothing at all alarming in what he said on this occasion, but the address was obviously cautious, rather than innocent or harmless, and at several points the danger line was closely skirted.

Since it has been admitted that there was a "tactical error," and since that admission implies that there is a systematic effort being made to stifle the speech of those who have "vague and inaccurate ideas" about other people's definition of free speech, it is time to ascertain just what are clear and accurate conceptions of freedom. Perhaps it might be well for the "Times" to define it for us, for such definition would have the weight of an utterance from a highly-accredited plutocratic authority.

But let us see. There are some of us who believe with Mr. Turner that there should be no limits whatever upon speech except those which may lie in a civil suit for libel. Now, is this a "vague and inaccurate idea"? On the contrary, there can be no clearer conception of free speech than this. The vagueness and inaccuracy lie with those who attempt to place "the danger line" this side of a disbelief in government. And, according to a ruling of a United States court, disbelief in government does not even have to be publicly expressed in order to bring the "disbeliever" under the ban. It is enough to secure the order for the deportation of an immigrant if it be known to the court that he disbelieves in the right to coerce the non-invasive individual.

However, if this were made the sole and rigid criterion by which to determine the limits of free speech, some claim might be made for clearness and accuracy. But it is not so. Everybody knows that that so-called "danger line" is capable of as many locations as there are courts and officials to find them. No one knows from one day to the next what new conception of dangerous utterances is going to appear. Even if the definition were given out freshly revised each day, authoritarians might with some show of reason assert that there exist clearness and accuracy. But is there any approach to this? The post-office department, which asserts the right to limit free speech to a greater extent than any other department of government, absolutely declines to give any definition, any criterion by which the citizen may be guided in the publication of matter which he intends to offer for transmission through the mails. He is not given the opportunity to be certain that he is avoiding an infraction of the laws. He knows that "the danger line" is near only after he has crossed it and the department has ruled that the matter which he has posted is "unmailable." And even then his prosecutors decline to point out just where the offending word or passage lies. Is not this the acme of vagueness and inaccuracy? No one knows when he is safe. No one knows when he has broken the law; he finds it out only after it is too late to avoid its infringement. Nothing could be more "vague," nothing could be more "inaccurate," nothing could be more villainously stupid than such an arrangement.

In comparison with this the libertarian conception and definition of free speech are as clear as the sunlight. In view of that governmental indefiniteness in the post-office department with which the "Times" so industriously sympathizes, it ill becomes that paper to prate about the "vague and inaccurate ideas" of those who are sustained in their opinions by such clear thinkers as Spencer, Thoreau, Emerson, and many other eminent men who knew that the greatest of all freedoms is free speech.

C. L. S.

Anent the complaint of a New York clergyman that the choir boys of his church had protested against a reduction of pay and had refused to sing until the former rate was restored, the editor of the "Sun" pointed out, quite pertinently, that the choir boys have as much right to determine what wages they are willing to accept as has the minister, who often changes his pulpit when a higher salary is offered somewhere else. The clergyman felt that the church should depend for its vocal music upon those who were willing to volunteer their services, rather than to take from the streets irreverent boys who became still more irreverent when admitted behind the scenes and made acquainted with the mysteries of the service. He thought that, as a compromise, young women should be employed in the choir instead, because they have "some sense of reverence." Passing over this virtual admission of the fact, which has often before been noted, that the female sex is more prone than the male to adopt all sorts of mummeries and superstitious ceremonials, is it not worth while to inquire whether the young women might not eventually become disillusioned when they have been admitted to the sanctuary of ecclesiastical imposture,—when they have often seen the mechanism of the observance of high-church or Roman rites? Let us hope that the choir boys will organize themselves into a union, and thus prepare the way for obviously the next and final step in the commercializing of religious worship,—the establishment of a preachers' trust. When these reverend gentlemen's salaries are fixed by the board of directors of the International Amalgamation of Sky-Pilots, and the conditions of their labor regulated by a perambulating representative, perhaps the farcical character of the whole performance will be seen by the confiding many as it is now seen by the perspicacious few.

The question of reducing the rate paid to the railroads for transporting the mails continues furtively to occupy the attention of congress, with no alarming prospect of a reduction of the annual three-million-dollar deficit in the post-office department being made by such means. In the meantime, the practical suppression of many small newspapers by the denial to them of second-class rates goes on apace, with an annual saving thereby to the department of about $317.49. If all crass nonsense about the "promotion of education," the "dissemination of knowledge," and like idle phrases were dispensed with, it would perhaps be clearly seen, by all except certain highly-favored beneficiaries of the present system, that, if all printed matter were placed in one class, and then all classes of mail matter made to pay what it costs to handle and transport them, the deficit would disappear, all periodicals could adjust their subscription prices in accordance with the new conditions, and tranquillity would eventually evolve from what is now uncertainty and chaos. However, that is too business-like for politicians, and furthermore it is not in conformity with the State-Socialistic basis upon which the post-office department is organized.

A correspondent of the New York "Sun" recently testified to the cure of a child suffering from diphtheria and membranous croup after the patient had been given up by the physicians. The specific was simple and timely,—the juice of a pineapple administered by the correspondent, who had been told by a physician that it was

* A crime being, in my view, by definition, a violation of abstract justice, no crime can be defensible on grounds of abstract justice, though a crime may, in exceptional circumstances, be defended on still higher grounds, in which case, if abominable, it would, at any rate, be the least abominable of all the courses possible in the given circumstances. I do not say this for the purpose of taking exception to the general tenor of Mr. Byington's article, with which I am in sympathy.—EDITOR.

an efficacious remedy. Below the writer's signature and his address, and without any evidence of his connection with them, were appended the following two lines: "But never let the pineapple treatment supersede the regular medical attendance." Whether or not this gratuitous advice is by the editor of the "Sun" is not clear; but, in any case, is it not rather ill-timed, seeing that both attending physicians had agreed that the child could live but two or three hours, and that, owing presumably to the pineapple juice, the child is now alive and well? The writer of that admonitory postscript shows, to say the least, a cheerful submission to the prevailing superstition that, if one must die, it is better to be killed by a regular physician. It must be admitted, however, that the latter method of decease has one advantage to the surviving friends,—the death certificate is easily obtained.

The submarine boats used by navies nowadays give promise of being the best promoters of universal peace yet discovered. If they can be run down and sunk (with all the people inside of them) by ordinary merchant vessels, and without harmful results to the latter, it will not be long before even stupid people will refuse to be shut up in these war machines. If it were not that the failure of these craft to keep out of the way of innocent liners will probably lead to their abandonment, one might wish that all modern naval vessels might be converted into submarines, with the hope that they remain permanently below the surface, with as many fools as could be induced to go aboard.

Ever since the Chicago theatre fire there has been a very industrious inspection—or pretence of inspection—of theatres in all parts of the land. Many theatres have been closed by city authorities. Has it never occurred to our municipal protectors that the public is not obliged to patronize the theatres, that a very casual inspection of any theatre will satisfy any individual as to his chances of escape in case of fire or panic, and that, if he considers it dangerous, he can stay away?

Stickers as Starters.

To the Editor of Liberty:

I am sure I forget how many years it is since I told you of my intention to produce the Anarchist Stickers; nor would I undertake to list all the causes which have successively kept me from carrying out the plan. But at last I can inform you, and I ask leave to inform your readers through you, that the stickers now exist. They are in the form of a sheet of twenty-five, (twenty-two of them different), printed in heavy-faced type, and adorned with the union label. The following samples will show the style:

Government is crime.

What would you do to a man who was in the habit of doing what government does?

What one man believes about God, another believes about government.

It can never be unpatriotic to take your country's side against your government. It must always be unpatriotic to take your government's side against your country.

Considering what a nuisance the government is, the man who says we cannot get rid of it must be called a confirmed pessimist.

The outcome of every form of government on record has been that the bad got more than their proportionate share of power. The like is not true of any respectable business. Therefore government is not a respectable business.

Think what you would do if you had to live where there was no government, having the same neighbors as you now have, free to associate yourself with them for any purpose, but unable to establish a government over the country. Then think whether that would not be better than what your government is now doing with you.

The intent of these stickers is, to be stuck on almost anything, wherever they can well serve as starters of thought. To stick one on a merchant's show-window, indeed, has in it so much invasiveness that it does not produce a favorable impression of the cause thus advertised; and sticking them on money, though it has been regarded as a very effective way of using such material, is liable to a heavy penalty at law. It also, I believe, robs the money of its legal-tender quality. (To be sure, I never heard of the penalty being enforced, nor of paper money being refused in trade because of such an addition; but I can believe that the law might be more strictly applied against Anarchist Stickers than it used to be against Single Tax stickers.) But, on the other hand, you can stick them on an envelope and make the government carry them under the eyes of all the postal clerks to the addressee; you can also stick them on your letter-page; you can do this either in writing to a friend who will not take offence, or in writing a business letter where you have money to send — the chance of having your good cash refused by an indignant tradesman being negligibly small.* I have just been sending an order with cash to a department of the United States at Washington; I put a sticker on my order, and one on the front of the envelope and one on the back of the envelope, and I expect my order to be honored. Besides stationery, you can put them on express packages, baggage, bundles to be taken to the laundry, or the backs of tickets to the Second Grand Ball of the Comeandbesqueezed Club. You can stick them in an old book or paper and lend it to a friend or present it to a free library. And I am sure I do not see what except fear of the law should restrain us from putting the most-disrespectfully-worded of them on the bright-colored army and navy enlistment posters that weary us in the post-offices.

I will sell them at two cents a sheet, three sheets for five cents, twenty for a quarter, a hundred for a dollar. If I get back what they have cost me, I shall be more amazed than delighted; if they produce a perceptible effect in starting Anarchistic thought in unexpected places, I shall be delighted rather than amazed. STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

* I did indeed lately send two dollars to a certain sailors' mission in New York, and it was returned to me with the note "Cannot accept," apparently because a copy of my "What is Anarchism?" was enclosed without note or comment. That superintendent has my hearty regards for the sincerity of his convictions; but I shouldn't have done the same in his place.

"Onlooker's" Impressions.

Dr. Parkhurst preached on Lincoln recently. The "Sun" of the following day reports him as having said a number of interesting things on the subject. In fact, Parkhurst is usually interesting. He has to be, else his salary would cease. No matter how "good" a preacher may be, his salary is always dependent upon his ability to interest his hearers—and is not infrequently in inverse ratio to his real goodness.

Parkhurst said that "Lincoln was God's candidate for the presidency." That's interesting, if true. Parkhurst must know, for who else in this age is as close to God as Parkhurst? Surely no other man enjoys such intimate association with God as he does. In fact, he admits it. So we'll have to accept Parkhurst's statement of the matter as true. Wouldn't it be more gratifying and satisfying, however, if such statements were made before even a nomination by some worldly political convention? Seems so to me. Then we'd be "dead sure" that God had really told Parkhurst about it before Parkhurst told us. It wouldn't then be simply a case of "I say it's so, and you can't prove that it isn't." Anyway, we'll accept the statement, and let it go at that—that Lincoln was God's candidate for the presidency.

Next, Parkhurst seems to think that Lincoln's greatest quality was his humanness. I think so too—but how did Parkhurst find out about it? Who could have told him—for he surely knows nothing about humanness himself? Preachers—and especially such preachers as Parkhurst—probably know less of what is genuinely human among men than does any other class of men. So it is surely true that somebody must have told Parkhurst about Lincoln's humanness. But let that go. He's found it out, and preached about it. All the rest of the world—except the preachers and "the unco guid"—knew it all the time.

Next, Parkhurst threw a few fits—misfits, as usual with him—because Lincoln's parents were not just what he (Parkhurst) would like them to have been. Too bad, but probably Lincoln did not know how badly Parkhurst would feel about it; else he would have chosen other parents. In that case, however, he (Lincoln) would probably have sacrificed that very humanness which so appeals to Parkhurst—now. Probably it would not have appealed to him had he known Lincoln in the days before he had proven his greatness. Parkhurst would have probably preached about him then as "A Hellion With His Lid Off"—for Parkhurst is great as a juggler of vivid phrases. Anyway, Parkhurst doesn't like Lincoln's parents. He says that "Thomas Lincoln was distinguished for nothing so much as for his shiftlessness; and as to his mother, Nancy Hanks, the kindest treatment we can give her is to write her with an interrogation point and let her go." When he says "the kindest treatment we can give her," etc., he speaks, of course, for himself and his kind. Those of us from whom all humanness has not departed will find it in our hearts to give her praise for giving to the world such a son. We will try to remember that the very humanness which Parkhurst says made Lincoln great was inherited from his parents. His mother—Nancy Hanks—gave him to the world, and those of us who have not yet become icicleized by the frigid atmosphere of present-day Churchanity will give her a kind thought, and wish that her lot had been a happier one.

Strange how soon the church can kill all that is really kindly in a preacher. He tugs so hard in the effort to bring his fellowmen up to his high plane (?) of life that he becomes hump-backed, knock-kneed, eye-bulged, and muscle-twisted, physically; and moth-eaten, intellectually.

For instance, let's take another case of a humanely-great man, with a doubtful parentage—Jesus. What about *his* mother? Does Parkhurst say of her that "the kindest treatment we can give her is to write her with an interrogation point and let her go"? Well, I guess not! Parkhurst really thinks highly of her; and the largest church in Christendom has made her a saint—yes, a Saint, with a capital S. And yet she surely was somewhat lax in her sexual morals. She was married to Joseph; yet the Scripture says that Jesus was not the son of Joseph. Jesus's father was somebody who concealed his identity under the alias of the Holy Ghost. Good name, and most effective Yet Mary retained the respect not only of her own neighbors (though they appear not to have been very familiar with the Holy Ghost story), but of Parkhurst himself. What more could she ask? And she is a saint! But poor Nancy Hanks, if Parkhurst is to have his way, is to become only an "interrogation point." Why this gross discrimination? Jesus was a great man—great because of his "humanness." Lincoln was a great man—great because of his "humanness." Mary was the channel through which Jesus reached the world, and Nancy Hanks was the channel through which Lincoln reached the world; and both women are surely entitled to the kindly good-will of all men who have even a modicum of "humanness." From fashionable preachers, of course, no such thing is expected, for, if they possessed "humanness," they wouldn't be fashionable preachers.

How many of the great men of the world have had obscure parents? Probably many more than had notable parentage. As for me—well, I've yet to see the woman of whom I would be willing to say that the kindest thing I could do for her would be "to write her with an interrogation point and let her go." I'm not so good, myself, that I feel that I can look down from an exalted height on *any* woman. Perhaps Parkhurst is. Poor man, I pity his loneliness!

I "view with alarm" the plight into which brave little Japan is getting herself. She must fight not only Russia,—several times bigger than herself,—but God also. The czar, when he heard of the first naval

defeat of his forces, put on his finest and most bewilderingly-bespangled vest, and ordered a "mass," which he attended, carrying a palm in his hand (he had one in each hand, for that matter—and "so have we all of us"), and a somewhat bald crown on his head. He walked "on foot," too—so the newspapers tell us. I hope God appreciated the honor done him. "A long train of ministers, functionaries, and military officers followed. The czar's bearing deeply impressed the onlookers." I should think it would! If anything would "impress" *me*, it would be to see a great big lubber of a czar running about like a sick monkey, clad in fantastic garb of the Arion Ball order, supplicating God to get him out of a hole into which he deliberately got himself, while his poor people at home were just a few laps ahead of starvation, and his soldiers and sailors were making targets of themselves for his (the said czar's) benefit? If the said "onlookers" had "impressed" the said czar into service and made him do a little of his own fighting, with meals three days apart, and lots of marching between fights, it would have been "something like." Eh?

ONLOOKER.

Safety in Liberty.

[Charles Erskine Scott Wood in "Pacific Monthly."]

Secretary Cortelyou is attempting that for which Charles I. and Louis XVI. lost their heads.

John Turner, while peaceably addressing (on the subjects of Trade Unions) a peaceable meeting at New York, was tapped upon the shoulder by United States deputy marshals, led from the stage, and, without trial or hearing, was imprisoned without bail until he could be forcibly deported from this country. As Liberty very truthfully remarks, this could not be done even in Germany. The warrant for this un-American act is found in a law passed by an hysterical congress after President McKinley's assassination. The evil aimed at by the law is murder. The law should be interpreted as meaning one who advocates the use of force against those in authority. Indeed, the law so reads. The real meaning of the word "Anarchist" is one who believes that the ideal form of society is that in which self-interest, guided by intelligence, is the basis of action rather than a law made by a few, or a majority, and enforced upon all.

One who advocates a change in or abolishment of the present form of government, is by an ignorant assumption thought to be an enemy to peace and order. In the same way those who formerly thought there might be a better form of government than the absolute despotism of kings were thought to be not only the enemies to peaceable society, but to God himself.

Mr. Edward M. Shepard said in his letter written to the Turner mass meeting in New York, "Is it credible that in our day and in our land, there should be found men in places of great power, who do not see that nothing is so conservative, nothing so safe, as an absolute liberty to think and to speak and to write, so long as there is no urgency or invitation to vice or to violence?"

Just as kings used to lop off the heads which spoke against kingship, so this foolish and useless law seeks to put our particular form of government beyond all criticism or discussion.

Our constitution says treason shall consist in acts of levying war against the United States. But this fool law makes it a crime for any one to talk against organized government, meaning, of course, as *now* organized, for no man advocates chaos. Nor will society ever submit to chaos. But there may be order and organization without a majority ruling a peaceable minority by force. Whether we believe in the Anarchistic ideal or not, the doctrine of free speech, for which so much blood has been shed, means that any man shall have a right to voice any peaceable doctrine. Riot and bloodshed may yet come to this country in an effort to adjust the economic laws which still separate the monopoly-favored few from the poor many; but the man who advocates peaceably a peaceable doctrine is responsible to no greater and no less degree than Voltaire and Rousseau are responsible for the blood of the French Revolution; Milton and Hampden responsible for the bloody overthrow of the Stuarts; and Adams and Franklin responsible for the blood of the Revolution.

If this law meant by Anarchists those who advocate the murder of rulers, it did not mean John Turner, for, like all true Anarchists, force is absolutely absent from his arsenal. Like every real Anarchist, he must sternly reprobate the use of force against others, in order to be consistent in his creed that force must not be used against him. Label a man Anarchist, and under this law, though his whole doctrine is peace, and his every act has been and is peace, he may be hurried to an Atlantic liner—a new sort of Bastile.

Mr. Turner was, in fact, discussing trades unions. He is chief organizer of the Retail Clerks' Union of Great Britain, and a member of the London Trades Council. Some people do not believe in trades unions; some people do not believe in Christian Science; and some do not believe in Christianity; but if there is any topic under heaven which cannot be freely and peacefully discussed because some set of men who happened to be in power do not believe in it, then free speech is at an end and progress has stepped backward.

To show how little the world changes and how men clothed with a brief authority quickly assume the role of tyrant, I quote from what Commissioner Williams said: "We'll ship him back to England on the first British steamer that leaves this port; if the Teutonic sails first, Mr. Turner will be deported on the Teutonic; we have been laying for him to appear here for the past three months." So these precious Bastile commissioners of Secretary Cortelyou were "laying" for a peaceable trade unionist for three months. It would seem, therefore, that this Anarchist is obnoxious not because of any Anarchistic theory, because he never uttered any, but because he is an advocate of organized labor, and we may take it that his deportation is at the secret behest of those who are opposed to organized labor. If organized labor is not dull-witted, it will take alarm at this attack on free speech and free institutions; it will insist that so-called "representatives" in congress must really represent the people; and it will turn to philosophical Anarchy itself as a relief from oppression by government by so-called majority.

Tyranny depends upon power, not upon the form of government; it exists in a republic where the power is secured by a majority, as well as in a kingdom, where it is "God-given."

The fact is, as those in authority grow more strenuous and militant, and expend the people's millions on battleships and world powerfulness, the people themselves grow more and more timid and less capable of self-help. The coming generations of this country seem likely to have little knowledge of what true liberty is and what their inalienable rights are. Every one ought to know that the constitution guarantees the right of the people to peaceably assemble and discuss their grievances; that this right was secured not only by the blood of the Revolution, but by oceans of blood before it; that every assemblage of citizens is just as capable of interpreting that clause of the constitution as is the supreme court of the United States; and that every assemblage of citizens has the same authority to enforce this constitutional right as would any body of police or soldiery. It is one of the fundamentals which comes back to the people themselves for interpretation and enforcement, and I, for one, shall not hesitate to maintain here and elsewhere that I am sorry that the mayor and police of the city of Paterson were not led out into their own square and shot, if such an extreme step were necessary on the part of the citizens to preserve their inestimable constitutional and elemental right. Every State in the Union has a law under which any speaker who incites to murder and riot may be arrested and punished, so that this law is absolutely unnecessary to protect any portion of the community against any incendiary utterances, but it does give the federal authorities and the central government one more excuse to invade the liberties of the people.

But the supreme court of the United States will, in my opinion, declare this law unconstitutional on some of the following grounds:

First. That there is a spirit in our constitution beyond the mere words, and that spirit is indicated by the past history of England as well as America, from which our constitution was evolved. That the clauses of the constitution which secure to the people free speech, a free press, the right to peaceably assemble and discuss grievances, the right to bear arms, and which makes treason to consist of some overt act, all indicate that the government itself, both in its acts and its form, is not sacred from discussion, and that the citizens themselves have an inherent right to invite any man, from any part of the world, to join or aid them in their discussion.

Second. That the whole history of this country from the time of the colonies has been that of an asylum for those persecuted for opinion's sake, and that no immigrant has ever been barred from this land because of his political theories; on the contrary, many driven from their country by the despotisms of Europe have been welcomed here. That the power given to congress to regulate immigration is a delegated power and must be strictly construed, and judging by the intent of the document, and by our history, the discretion of congress is limited to matters of race, economics, and health, and it can not, under the guise of regulating immigration, bar any man from these shores because of his religious or political opinions.

Third. That the statute is a restrictive and a penal statute and should be strictly construed, and must be interpreted by the evil sought to be remedied, and it does not apply to peaceable men discussing theories of government or of a voluntary social association.

Fourth. That its attempted application is an invasion of the right of the States to a republican form of government and to local self-government, especially in criminal or quasi-criminal matters.

They talk of deporting Anarchists. If they mean philosophical and peaceable Anarchists, Warren, a descendant of Warren of Bunker Hill, was the great American Anarchist. If they mean by Anarchists those diseased and unsettled minds which brood upon the tyrannies of government until a death stroke at the visible head of government is the consummation of their broodings, we ourselves have bred the only assassins who have struck at our presidents. Have we got to learn all over again what the world is supposed to have learned hundreds of years ago, that the greatest safety lies in liberty and the greatest danger in tyrannous repression? You cannot imprison ideas. You cannot kill them. There is one thing certain, that the progress of humanity has been toward liberty, and those who would gain for the world more liberty are true prophets, and those who would take away anything of the liberty which has been so dearly gained are walking backward into a pit.

Government Economy Impossible.

[New York Evening Post.]

Every one is pulling and hauling and plotting to secure money and appointments for his own district; he will barter his immortal soul for a harbor appropriation, a lighthouse, a public building, a post-office, or a deputy marshalship for a heeler. The mere fact that the outlay is unwarranted seems to disturb only novices at Washington. After a term or two they become hardened sinners like the rest; they see everybody grabbing, and they cannot resist the temptation to secure a share of the booty for their own loyal followers. They find it an easy step from intriguing for allowances that are not justified in reason to conspiring for clerkships and salary increases that are forbidden by law. Mr. Payne's report contains many cases of grants for clerk hire for which the business of the office and the rules of the department offered not a shadow of pretext. Our latter-day statesmen never dream of adopting that motto from "Eikon Basilike," "More than the law gives me I would not have." They choose rather to pervert an old proverb by asserting that he who steals an egg without being caught is justified in stealing an ox. When men of the standing of Congressman Hill, of Connecticut, Senator Cullom, Speaker Cannon (that watchdog of the treasury), Congressman Payne, of New York, and Hepburn, of Iowa, are taken red-handed, no one can marvel that Beavers, Machen, and the small-fry of

department subordinates rush for loot, with the cry, "Now or never!"

These petty frauds are convincing evidence that it is practically impossible to conduct our government economically; and they give us pause when enthusiasts press for enlarging the scope of administrative activities. Under the present plan it is for the private interest of our public servants to spend not as little, but as much, as possible. By lavish and wasteful disbursements they strengthen their own position; they bind their venal supporters to them by the cohesive power of public plunder.

Too Many Guarantors.

[Sigismond Lacroix in "Le Radical."]

A war is being waged over the integrity of China,—a subject upon which the whole world is agreed. Russia guarantees this integrity; yet Russia is occupying Manchuria, the richest part of China, and declines to leave. Japan guarantees this integrity; yet it was by no fault of hers that she did not damage it a little, after conquering China. England guarantees this integrity; yet she takes advantage of Russia's embarrassment to instal herself in Thibet,—which, if not a part of China, is at least a dependency thereof,—and perhaps also elsewhere than in Thibet. And even France, while, like the others, guaranteeing the integrity of China, has rectified the frontier of China to the detriment of China.

In this war between Japan and Russia, it is China, after all, that appears most threatened. A State whose integrity has so many guarantors is, indeed, a very sick State.

Army Life in Germany.

[Elizabeth E. Evans in "Truth Seeker."]

The recently-published story of army life entitled "Aus einer Kleinen Garnison" (In a Small Garrison) by Lieutenant Bilse, has created immense excitement in Germany, not only on account of the local scandals made public through individual complaints resulting in a law suit, but still more because the narrative exposes great evils and abuses which are inherent in the military system and which therefore apply in a greater or less degree to a standing army everywhere. The book is forbidden in Germany; its author has been sent to prison for six months and will be dismissed from the army on his release, which sentence has been ratified without amelioration by the emperor; but in Vienna five printing-presses are working day and night to supply the demands which are coming in from every direction, and which render this undertaking the most successful recorded in Austria since the invention of printing. Nor is it likely that the reflections and discussions aroused by the story will soon subside. That little book may prove to be a powerful agent among the many influences already at work to convince the public mind of the inestimable advantages to be gained through the substitution of reasonable agreement for military force in the settlement of international disputes.

"War is Hell" is an aphorism which condenses the misery wrought by armies in activity into one word, aptness of which will be generally conceded; a more amplified lesson is needed to demonstrate the far-reaching and lasting evils attendant upon the maintenance of armies at rest. In the course of the narrative the reader is particularly struck by the wearisome pettiness of the daily duties and occupations of the garrison, preventing any mental improvement in characters disposed to take an earnest view of life and presenting to the light-minded abundant temptation and opportunity for indulging in various forms of vice. Hence there are scandals without end in that secluded and exclusive little community; drunkenness, gambling, extravagance, licentiousness, by way of pastime; while arrogance on the part of superiors in official rank to those beneath them and general abuse of the common soldier betray the unhealthy influence of a theory which separates the military class from the rest of the social organism and allows it to become a law unto itself. The frequent instances of shameful maltreatment of soldiers by their officers which are nowadays brought before the courts for trial in Germany show that this feature of military life is not exaggerated in the story, and the enmity of the officers against a book written by one of themselves and undeniably authentic in its charges is thereby fully explained.

Since the publication, five other similar stories, bringing the same complaints, from as many different garrisons, have been offered to the same publisher, who is not likely to repeat his attempt, especially now that the emperor has denounced Lieutenant Bilse and his epoch-making work. The scenes and situations described are more or less applicable to every fort and garrison and barrack the world over; while the depressing effect upon capacity and character of a life made up of pernicious industry alternating with enforced idleness is especially observable in an army composed of comparatively well-educated soldiers and unrivaled in the training adapted to the appliances and practices of modern warfare. *Pernicious industry!* That is the right term for the varied and often severe tasks involved in the learning of a profession the sole obect of which is to kill and maim human beings and destroy the fruits of honest labor wrought in times of peace. Who that looks upon the parade of a regiment passing through city streets to daily exercise in the open fields can fail to be struck by the mournfulness of the spectacle, when the end and aim of such elaborate preparation is remembered?—the loud, defiant music; the throbbing drums; the measured march of the well-drilled men; the faultless elegance of the uniformed officers; the carefully groomed horses of the brilliant cavalry; the ominous rumble of wagons drawing the heavy cannon of artillery—all this noise and display in order to keep the actors and the observers from realizing the agony and the horror which attend such movements when made in earnest, as all concerned expect they will be, some time within the experience of the generation which gets and looks on! . . . . .

So long-established an evil as a standing army cannot be abolished immediately under any government, and it will be a long time before the nations will not learn war any more; but experience shows that education is the only weapon which can prevail against military force and ultimately establish universal peace. Religion, certainly, will not do this. The worst wars ever known have been religious wars, and even now the subjects of pious Christian kings and citizens of civilized nations partake of their holiest sacrament armed to the teeth and ready to go from the Lord's table to the field of battle. It is education, in the highest sense of the word, which has moved the best minds of the age to protest in every possible way against murder by organized warfare; it is education which will disperse the glamour which surrounds the pomp and circumstance of war in the eyes of the ignorant. . . . . Therefore, whoever helps to increase and spread knowledge among all classes of men is working towards this glorious consummation which future generations will appreciate and enjoy.

Inspired Explanations.

[New York Daily News.]

The court biographer of the Roosevelt dynasty, Mr. F. E. Leupp, is diligent in his efforts to enlighten the public concerning the president's reasons for assuming legislative power and passing a service penson bill without the assistance of congress. Mr. Leupp has explained already that the plan of giving every veteran a penson for age does away with the trouble and expense of examining applicants, but that was not the real reason for its adoption.

It would not have done for the pension commissioner to tell publicly all he knows; but the biographer is not hampered by official red tape or fear of losing his job, and he assures us solemnly that the medical examiners are perniciously active in politics and that the real purpose of the administration is to put a stop to their electioneering. If there is anything that the administration cannot tolerate it is the use of public office for political ends.

A "pension functionary," whose identity is not disclosed by the discreet court biographer, is quoted by Mr. Leupp as saying that the doctors are the greatest electioneering agents in the field. When the doctor makes a professional call, "an atmosphere of politics completely envelops the incident"; he chats with his patient on general topics, and insidiously drifts into talk about the campaign, "and the mischief's done."

But worse than such direct inoculation of unsuspecting voters with the virus of politics is the nefarious practice of the doctors, thus described by the administration's inspired explainer:

> Even sick women, who see hardly anybody but their family physician, catch the political infection and communicate it in turn to their husbands and fathers, brothers and sons. You who live in a good-sized city have little conception of what a political power is vested in our 4,500 doctors, most of whom live in small towns.

The administration, it appears, was so shocked at the turpitude of the country doctors that it resolved to protect sick women from their political malpractice at any cost, and with a stroke of the pen put the medical examiners out of business. It will cost the country about $50,000,000 a year to keep those 4,500 country doctors out of politics, but who so basely sordid as to count the money cost of an example of lofty patriotism and strenuous civic virtue set before the youth of the land by the statesman without human fault or selfish purpose?

The suggestion that it might be good politics to throw overboard a brigade of doctors to catch the votes of a million or more veterans is unworthy of consideration. The court biographer himself treats it with the silent contempt that it deserves.

Roosevelt's Usurpation.

[New York Evening Post.]

A senate inquiry into the executive order authorizing service pensions by degree was of course inevitable, for in our times there has been no such glaring usurpation by the executive. If it is possible for the administration to measure proportionate disability for self-support merely by age, and to declare that all veterans of sixty-two are *ipso facto* on the invalid list, what law on our statute-books can be regarded as safe should its perversion serve presidential ambitions? No wonder the Washington correspondents speak of "consternation" among the Republican senators. Mark well that these political veterans are not overscrupulous after the fashion of whimpering mugwumps. When they question the president it is not for any ordinary stretching of his powers; the very form of the challenge suggests the iniquity it searches out. "How much will it cost?" the senate asks. Never before, we believe, has a president presumed to give away millions of the public moneys without a line in the statutes which clearly justifies that expenditure. No officer of the treasury should pay out a cent on this ruling. But we hardly anticipate that the president will venture to have the case tested in the courts. It would be far less humiliating to make his retreat now, while public indignation is still only gathering; but no retraction can gloze the sombre fact that a president of the United States has sanctioned a gigantic raid on the treasury in behalf of his political supporters.

Dewey Draws the Color Line.

[New York Evening Post.]

Admiral Dewey's failure to land in San Domingo had a queer look. There was some desultory firing on shore, but what was that to the hero of Manila? That lame explanation, telegraphed from Havana, is now, however, superseded by a more plausible account. It seems that the doughty admiral was not aware, until he reached Dominican waters, that our minister to the black republic is himself a negro. Imagine, then, the consternation on Dewey's ship when Mr. Powell came aboard. Horrid visions of another Booker Washington dinner affrighted the gallant officer. If he went ashore, he would surely have to call upon the minister; later he might even have to invite him to dine! That was enough to blanch the face which the thunder of the Spanish guns left unmoved. Hence the hasty retreat; hence the strange excuse that a few random bullets had stopped the man who had despised the Manila torpedoes, in right Farragut fashion, and had sailed in to singe the beards of the Dons. No wonder that the Southern papers are chuckling over the way in which one civilian negro put the admiral of the navy to flight.

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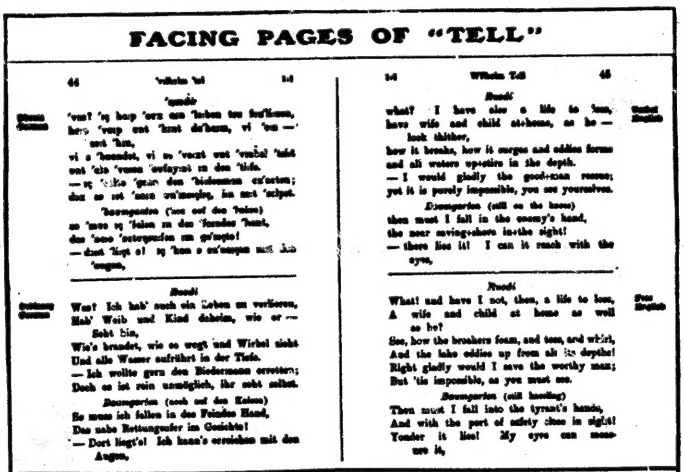

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October, 1900 JAMES GEDDES, Professor of Romance Languages in the University of Boston

UNIVERSAL ALPHABET

In this table, the letters representing the voiceless sounds, that is, the sounds produced without vibration of the vocal cords, are enclosed in curves ( ).

ORGANS	Lips	Gums	Palate	Veil	Uvula	Throat
Wholly closed, then opened	b(p)	d(t)	j(c)	g(k) q(q)		(ʔ)
Nose passage open	m(m̥)	n(n)	ɲ(ɲ̊)	ŋ(ŋ̊)		
Open at sides (of tongue) only		l(l̥)	ʎ(ʎ̊)	l(l̥)		
Trilled		r(r̥)			ʀ(ʀ̥)	ɢ
	w(ʍ) v(f)	z(s) ʒ(ʃ) ð(θ) ɹ(ɻ)		w(ɥ)		ʕ(ʢ) ɦ(h)
So close as to produce friction	Sounded	ɣ(ʝ)		w(ɰ)		
		j(ç)		ɣ(x)		
Very close	Sounded	ɣ	ɨ	ʉ		
		i	ɪ	u		
Close	Sounded	ʏ		ʊ		
		ɪ		ʊ		
Half close	Sounded	ø	ɘ	o		
		e	ə	ɤ		
Half open	Sounded	ɔ	ɜ	ɔ		
		ɛ	ɐ	ʌ		
Open		æ	ɐ			
Very open		ä	ɑ			

ː denotes that the *preceding* sound is relatively long
ˑ denotes that the sounds just after it are relatively short.
ˌ denotes that the sound under it is voiced, or produced with the passage from throat to nose open.

[denotes that the pitch of the enclosed sounds is high.
] denotes that the pitch of the enclosed sounds is low.
⟩ denotes that the pitch of the preceding sounds rises.
⟨ denotes that the pitch of the preceding sounds falls.

For WHOM
Designed

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whether having private or class instruction, or studying by themselves only, who wish to *start right*, not start wrong, to be *continuously helped and corrected*, not continuously hindered and led astray, to proceed *rapidly*, not at a snail's pace, and to try the theory that *practice makes perfect*.

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